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ABSTRACT

Starting from the debate over the utility, or possibility, of educational planning, the author covers its theory and practice, concepts of educational reform, and philosophies of education. He first summarizes various critics' arguments against educational planning and then, using evidence from 95 nations' educational plans and 12 UNESCO regional conferences, answers their charges that educational planning is conservative, hierarchical, bureaucratic, preoccupied with economic development, neglectful of implementation, or based on questionable assumptions. His review of educational plans leads to the identification of common educational goals, including democratization and human resources development, and of new educational tasks, such as broadening education's scope and enlarging participation in planning. He discusses the relationship of educational reform to educational philosophies, planning, and problems, and suggests several guidelines for reformers. He notes the importance of teachers' unions and of long-range planning and concludes with a critique of a Club of Rome report on educational change. (RW)

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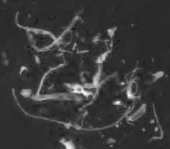

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REFELECTIONS ON THE CONCEPT AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND REFORMS.

BY

B.KLUCHNIKOV

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FOREWORD

Unesco's General Conference at its 19th session (Nairobi, Kenya, 1976) resolved that the Secretariat give particular attention to "gathering and disseminating information about new educational policies for the renewal of educational systems, adapted to specific needs on the basis of particular social, economic and cultural situations and aimed at promoting democratization of the systems within the framework of life-long education" (Programme Resolution 1.111).

In line with this mandate the Division of Educational Policy and Planning began in 1977 reproducing selected technical papers and distributing them as a series under the general title: "Reports, Studies ...". The aim of this series is to stimulate reflection and discussion on current issues confronting educational policy-makers, planners, administrators and school architects. Distribution is limited to Unesco officials at Headquarters and in the field, as well as interested technical personnel in governmental and private institutions. It is hoped that this series will promote and serve as a vehicle for increasing communication between individuals and institutions concerned with policy and planning aspects of education.

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(i) papers with a subject orientation (numbered S.1, S.2, etc.) and
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Subject papers deal with such topics as educational policies and legislation, planning and management techniques, planning and design of educational space and facilities, the relationship of education to productive work and employment, inter-country cooperation, the role of education in respect of the New International Economic Order, etc. Country papers are either brief profiles of the educational system of a particular country (mainly the LDCs) or treat a specific reform or aspect of the country's educational system.

Some of the papers reproduced in the series are "desk studies" based on information available within Unesco, others were originally prepared as background or discussion papers for a meeting or seminar, while still others are personal position papers representing part of a continuous dialogue within the Unesco Secretariat.

Papers are selected for the series on the basis of their topical interest. Readers should bear in mind that many, if not most, of the papers are working documents, unedited and not intended for public distribution. Some of the authors have written in a language other than their mother tongue, which explains certain linguistic deficiencies. It must also be stressed that the papers present the ideas of their respective author and do not necessarily reflect the policies of Unesco.

The Division of Educational Policy and Planning welcomes comments and suggestions concerning the series and invites readers to make known their reactions to particular ideas presented or to entire papers. In certain cases it may be possible to reproduce such comments and reactions in a subsequent issue of the series. For the convenience of readers who may wish to contact the author of a paper, the current contact address is given whenever possible.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONCEPT AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND REFORMS

Preface.

This paper is intended as an introduction to the ongoing polemics on the subjects of educational planning, educational reforms and educational policies. It develops some ideas, formulated in previous papers[x] and concentrates in rather a sketchy way on identifying major problems and misunderstandings and on analysing the arguments pro and contra educational planning, on its relation to educational reforms. In arguing some of the points the author has chosen to refer to opinions of educational policy makers and practical planners. The existing educational plans as well as statements of Unesco organized regional conferences of ministers of Education were thoroughly analyzed. It will be very much appreciated if readers, in particular Unesco experts in educational planning as well as their national counterparts will take part in the discussion of new tasks of educational planning as they see them in their practical work. This issue includes also my comments on the report "No limits to learning" written by three educators, J.W. Botkin, M. Elmandjra and M. Malitza and submitted in July 1979 in Salzburg (Austria) to the Club of Rome. The report has a direct relation to problematics of educational reforms and of long-term educational planning. Whatever the critical remarks may be, the report contains many interesting innovative ideas worth being reflected upon by those who plan and reform educational development. The opinions of the readers concerning acute tasks of educational planning will be published in one of the issues of these reports and studies.

With best wishes to my colleagues.

Boris Kluchnikov.

Director
Division of Educational
Policy and Planning.

x See Reports and Studies S5, S34 & S68.

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NEW CHALLENGES OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING*

Polemics on educational planning.

Despite extensive literature on the subject, planning is a relatively new discipline. In spite of the fact that planning has become, in the majority of countries in the world an important political and administrative function, or as some say, an indispensable part of a modern system of management, the controversies and polemics about concepts, theories, approaches and practical results of planning are widening and often lead to either over-optimistic or unjustifiably pessimistic conclusions. This controversy is explained partially by the growing diversity of planning concepts and practices, and partially by misunderstandings between practitioners and theorists of planning. Another source of misunderstanding is that planning by governments is frequently confused with the economic technique of forecasting and the political technique of decision-making and state intervention. Planning is an endeavour to reconcile probable and possible forecasts with what is politically desirable. This is normally attempted through the strategic use of instruments of economic and social organizations to attain explicit objectives in short, medium and long-terms. Of course this is a very broad definition. But it includes a variety of planning patterns. At one extreme there is a kind of planning (sisyphean planning) which resembles routine day-to-day management of activities in which planning ensures consistency and fitting together of ongoing activities. This minimal type of planning rarely invents new activities and it is a part and parcel of "moving equilibrium" (a sort of public relation exercise). At the heroic end or, as some writers say, at the "promethean" planning spectrum, certain explicit development objectives are fixed, backed by government commitments to implement them.[1] This sort of planning examines a range of possible alternatives, envisages revision of current practices and often

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* A short version of this article was published in "Prospects N° 1, 1980.

(1) See e.g. Planning in Europe, edited by J. Hayward and O. Narkievicz, Croom Helm, London.

introduces innovations and comprehensive reforms. This concept takes planning as a form of "purposeful" guiding rather than waiting for change. It aims at intervening and controlling the flow of events. The classic texts on planning theories deal, for the most part, with "good" societies, cities, organizations, etc. In Plato's Republic for example, critical dialogue is the planning method. The latter type of planning is not necessarily limited to socialist countries. The French plan, for example, is equally in service of grandiose goals and aims at considerable innovations and reforms. It is often argued that "the French government surely plans more than the Yugoslav."[2] It is widely recognized that the French plan has strengthened the government capacity to anticipate events and steer them rather than merely react to change. But the most widespread practice is that national economic and social planning is in close connection with annual budgeting. This is a type of planning which is in between the so called "sisypnean and promethean" approaches: it tends to be resource rather than goal oriented. It is noteworthy that in market economies this type of planning is often entrusted to leading banks. Its leading principle is "as much competition as possible, as much planning as necessary" Let's note, however, that conventional theory considers planning as something which is the opposite to "crescive" market or organizational process.[3] The first conclusion of the ongoing discussion is fairly trivial: the social and ideological climate within which planning takes place influences profoundly its concept. The variety of planning practices led some of the thinkers to conclude that "a complete general theory of planning is impossible."[4] I share this view: the existing attempts to construct a general theory of planning are boiling down to generalities, if not platitudes. These attempts are probably premature. There are, however, relatively advanced branches of planning. For example social activities lend themselves more easily to planning. This applies also to planning educational development: educational planning appears in many countries as an integral part of social planning.

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(2) Ibid. p. 21.

(3) See A. Faluchi, Planning theory, Oxford 1973; R.L. Warren, Social change and Human purpise, Chicago 1977.

(4) See e.g. Mandelbaum, "Policy Sciences", Vol. II, n° 1, Aug. 79, p. 59.

In the past two decades almost all nations have introduced one or another form of economic and social planning, including planning of education.

Countries have just gained their independence, have begun to perceive considerable opportunities opened up by educational planning. Since that time educational planning is practised in more than 100 countries of the world. Some of the countries are now implementing their fifth or sixth educational development plan. Since the late 1950's Unesco has begun to provide systematic assistance to Member States in this field. Unesco has a stock of some 95 current plans, kindly supplied by the Governments in reply to our request. These documents as well as the deliberations of a dozen Regional Conferences of Ministers of Education organized by Unesco, provide a solid basis for studying the concept and practice of educational planning.

The regional conferences constituted a new method for promotion of international and regional cooperation. They became an important forum for education ministers to periodically examine educational policies and plans and to meet with Ministers of economics and finance. The regional conferences clearly evidence the progressive development of educational planning. It was not and it is not smooth. With triumphs came disappointments. The bright side was not without a dark side. But on the whole it is justified to conclude that in the highly dynamic development of education in the world during the last two or three decades, planning has played an outstanding constructive role. The Unesco Conference which assembled ministers of Education of Asia and Oceania, in Colombo, July 1978, stated that "educational planning is now well established in the development of the machinery of most governments of the region and that

the mechanisms for educational management and administration are being progressively strengthened."[5] Similar conclusions were made by Ministers of Education of Latin America and the Caribbean countries which assembled in December 1979 in Mexico at a UNESCO Conference, as well as Ministers of African and Arab States who met respectively at Unesco conferences in Lagos, Nigeria in February 1976 and in Abu-Dhabi, U.A.E. in November 1977.

When comparing these conclusions with the opinions of many, mostly academic writers, one cannot avoid the unhappy feeling that some basic misunderstandings and miscalculations are being made. The former Director of the International Institute of Educational Planning, Mr. H. Weiler writes that "both confidence and concensus have disappeared and given way to considerable doubts as to the utility and adequacy of educational planning"..."Given the prevailing state of educational planning" concludes Mr. Weiler, those researchers who define it as an exercise in optimism, are essentially right."[6] When reading the articles of Messrs. Weiler and Psacharopoulos one may be left with doubts as to whether education is "plannable" in principle and if it is not a method to manipulate the Minister of Education who has neither the time nor the skill to question and understand the procedure the figures were arrived at.[7]

Academic versus practical approach to educational planning.

We suggest to analyze in all objectivity the typical arguments of the academic criticism of educational planning. I shall begin with the short history of educational planning. Mr. Psacharopoulos opens his fairly ambitious article by claiming that educational planning" started with the discovery by Abramovits, Solow and others in the United States of the "residuel" in the 1950's, and that before 1955 there was virtually no attempt to plan educational systems." Though it is of no particular

(5) Final Report of the Fourth Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and those responsible for Economic Planning in Asia and Oceania, Colombo, 24 July - 1 August 1978, p. 64, Recommendation 23, Paris, Unesco, October 78.
(6) Hans N. Weiler "Towards a political economy of educational planning" ; Prospects, Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1978, p. 247 and p. 266.
(7) George Psacharopoulos "Educational planning : past and present" ; Prospects Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1978, p. 141.

importance whether it was Abramovits in 1955 or S. Strumilin in 1925, the fact is that the International Conference on Educational Planning, organized by Unesco in August 1968 in Paris (later ICEP) clearly indicated that the first systematic attempt at educational planning dates back to 1923 and the years of the First Five-Year Plan in the USSR. One may pay tribute to a considerable impact of the experience of this country in spreading out the concepts, methods and techniques of social planning, of which educational planning constituted an important component. A number of Western European countries launched educational plans of one sort or another immediately after the Second World War. Typical cases are the United Kingdom's Education Act of 1944 and the French National Plan of 1953. Secondly, the above statement of Mr. Psachoropoulos tends to equate educational planning with the economics of education, or, at least, to reduce it to its manpower approach and component. However, before discussing this basic misunderstanding I permit myself to disagree with another comment of Mr. Weiler's concerning historical roots and the origin of educational planning. He contends that educational planning was a more or less mechanical reaction to an external demand that some form of planning would be a prerequisite for receiving foreign assistance for educational development . No doubt a majority of the developing countries was much impressed by the speed and efficiency by which educational development was performed in more developed countries thanks to planning primarily in socialist countries. Nevertheless this does not necessarily imply that educational planning was imported and imposed by foreigners. In my view educational planning was born on the local soil, by national efforts, and is deeply rooted in the national environment.

Planning was taken as a natural process of the human activity as a new element of the national system of management. This fact explains the slow start and increasing diversity of planning practices. Indeed the content, methodology and effectiveness of educational planning differ widely from country to country depending on their social, economic, political and cultural goals. This diversity of educational planning conflicts with Mr. Weiler's assertion that it has been imported for purposes of receiving aid and that in most Third World countries implementation of plans depends on outside resources. It is true that many developing countries suffer from a constraint of resources. However, luckily they never depended on foreign aid for their educational development. At the best of time foreign resources amounted to some 5-7% of the expenditures on education. Quantitatively aid remains a marginal factor in development and especially in education.

However, the criticism of Messrs. Weiler and Psacharopoulos contains a number of other fundamental misgivings. Mr. Weiler contends that educational planning has a conservative bias; that it is mostly preoccupied with economic growth and human capital development; that it neglects implementation; that it is of hierarchical and bureaucratic nature; and that in general educational planning has questionable assumptions "an exercise in optimism." These are fairly typical academic criticisms.

Let us consider the above arguments. The reader will forgive me for making frequent references to various educational plans and documents approved by Ministers' Conferences. In my view these documents represent the opinions of practitioners of educational planning.

Conservative bias.

Is it correct that educational planning has a tendency to reproduce on an expanded scale the existing educational system? Is it fair that instances where it brought major structural changes, redistribution of educational opportunities or qualitative reorientations, have been extremely rare? I can hardly agree with such a generalization. It is certainly an exaggeration which does not stand either empirical evidence or a theoretical test. On the contrary educational planning when properly applied as a method for achieving goals of educational policy, greatly contributed to systematic educational innovations. The replies to Unesco's questionnaire sent to 95 Member States in 1968 show that already at that time 51 countries included qualitative aspects in their plans. The practitioners normally challenge the tendency to counterpoise quantitative and qualitative aspects of educational development, because the quantitative expansion of education itself requires a whole range of measures designed to improve the quality and relevance of its structures, contents and methods. The evaluation of national educational plans, in particular those of the late 60's and 70's clearly evidence their growing preoccupation with quality improvement, innovations and reforms. The Third Plan (1965-1970) of Pakistan, e.g. envisaged "at the secondary level, that major emphases be put on qualitative improvement especially in the sciences." Also international and regional conferences, on many occasions, mentioned the openness of educational planning to innovations and reforms, even "in Asia with its deep rooted respect for traditions".[8] Contrary to

(8) Final Report of the Third Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those responsible for Economic Planning in Asia, Singapore, 31 May - 7 June 1971, p. 12.

Mr. Weiler's assertion, educational plans are increasingly emphasizing the qualitative aspects, and are becoming more and more an effective means for educational innovations and reforms.

Preoccupation with economic growth.

Another criticism of educational planning concerns its scope and subject. It is often argued that most approaches to planning educational development have been predicated on the notion of human capital, which effectively excludes any considerations related to other functions. Mr. Psacharopoulos also says the same somewhere: "For nearly twenty years the sole (sic.) objective of educational planning has been economic efficiency of how to increase national income".[9] A serious analysis of educational plans, I am afraid, hardly leads to such a conclusion. On the contrary, as a general rule planning of education after the Second World War was a separate exercise having not substantial links with economic planning.

Educators found it important to emphasize that education was not only consumption, but that it represented an investment. Naturally enough economists played an outstanding role in the first phases of educational planning: they already had planning experience and they brought with them a degree of precision, which many educators have for long been demanding. Nevertheless economic development was normally considered as only one of the objectives of education, the others being social, cultural, political, or personality oriented etc. The ICEP, noted that early educational plans disregarded the employment aspect. It also warned against the fashionable "human capital" theory and its possible implications. It has since become increasingly clear that a form of educational planning confined to the single issue of labour demand would be incomplete.

(9) George Psacharopoulos "Educational planning : past and present" : Prospects, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1978, p. 138.

As a matter of fact this is the reason why the so called integrated or global socio-economic approach to planning of education in socialist countries was and still is so much the centre of attention of practitioners of educational planning. Planning of technical and higher education in conjunction with estimated manpower needs was the most attractive novel feature of the global socio-economic approach practiced in socialist countries. The international community has to a great extent overlooked social and cultural dimensions of educational planning, practised in socialist countries. It was stated e.g. at the ICEP that "in all socialist countries of Europe, forecasts of employment... govern the planning of education in its entirety".10) This was a superficial consideration which unfortunately is still widespread. On the contrary, in these countries the concept of human capital was never taken seriously, though the role of qualified manpower was clearly recognized.

Once very influencial, the concept of human capital which provided in the 60's the theoretical foundation for the manpower approach to educational planning is nowadays severely criticized. Indeed, is it not the rationale of the human resources capital theory (rate of return to human capital, cost-benefit approach, input-output analysis - in more general terms, etc.) to facilitate investments with a view to producing more productive workers, skilled manpower? Are these theories not implying that educational reforms must take place within the context of existing social and educational orders? Are they not in contradiction with the doctrine of the New International Economic Order? Are the representatives of the human capital theory not in fact emphasizing uniquely incremental, technical adjustments, without bothering too much about conflict cultures, social conflicts, as well as about moral, ethical norms, e.g. democratisation, equality of educational opportunities, etc. This is not a firm statement, but rather the formulation of a point for reflection and discussion. (See works of T. Schultz, C. Anderson, M. Bowman, F. Harbison). The above critical remarks do not intend to put into doubt retrospectively by the positive contribution of the theory of "human capital" to promoting the idea of planning and making it more acceptable and practical.

The predominance of social and purely educational goals in the first national plans, and the often total lack of manpower considerations, is evidenced by practically all regional conferences. For instance, the Marrakech conference (1970) stated that the development of educational planning has been initially limited to the elementary level and some cases gradually broadened in scope. The Singapore conference (1971) stated that one of the principle objectives of educational plans was equalization of educational opportunities. Educational plans of developing countries early evidenced a major concern also for the building up of national unity and the fostering of a civic spirit.

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(10) International Conference on Educational Planning : A survey of basic problems and prospects, Paris, Unesco 1968, p.46.

In addition to fulfilling manpower needs, education plans of Nepal e.g. were aiming at creating a sense of national unity based on a common culture by transforming the geo-political unity into a realistic feeling of national solidarity, as well as bringing about uniformity in the pedagogical traditions of the country by integrating all the prevailing systems of education, old and new, into one national system.[11] The Nepalese approach is fairly typical. Nowadays the majority of educational plans incorporate also cultural and non-formal educational activities. At the end of the 1960's the process of branching educational planning began. In some countries special plans for higher, technical and out-of-school education were formulated.

The implementation of plans is clearly the major shortcoming. Does it mean that educational planning is not feasible ? It is also a considerable exaggeration to claim that educational plans or many of their aims never went beyond the paper. Had this conclusion been correct, countries would reject the idea of planning in principle. Fortunately "Prospects" has published also the article of Mr. N.F. Lamarra and Inés Aguerrando.[12] In my opinion they correctly analyse the recent evolution of educational planning. Planning with all its shortcomings and childhood sicknesses appears as a natural human activity. They analyse the concrete experience of some Latin American countries in all objectivity with its weaknesses and achievements. The advantage of their approach is that they clearly recognize that "any attempt to channel and/or change reality - including educational reality - has policy-making, administrative and planning aspects which are inextricably bound together."

Hierarchical and bureaucratic nature.

The majority of analysts rightly complain about the minimal and mostly limited involvement of lower levels in the planning process and its bureaucratic and non-participatory nature. On the whole this is correct, and

(11) Final Report of the Third Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and those Responsible for Economic Planning in Asia, Singapore, 31 May - 7 June 1971, pages 29 and 136.

(12) Noberto Fernández Lamarra and Inés Aguerrando "Some thoughts on educational planning in Latin America" ; Prospects, Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1978 page 353.

probably constitutes the basic weakness of educational planning of many countries. Recognition of this fact led many countries to practise educational planning at local levels with a view to ensuring participation of teachers and their union, parents, students and community as a whole. Paradoxically the countries known as "centrally planned economies" in reality are taking the lead in considerably decentralizing planning, limiting it to major targets, consulting lower levels at the stage of the formulation of plans, making them fully responsible for implementation, and providing for a great degree of flexibility, for rolling adjustments in the process of implementation. The plan is however a directive, subject to implementation.

Rationale of educational planning.

Finally a few words about the fundamental criticism of educational planning as being an exercise in optimism. This amounts to the invalidation of educational planning in principle. There are variations of this fundamental criticism ranging from the view of planning as a sin (man can't and shouldn't plan his future) to questioning the feasibility of educational planning, the most common argument being the unsuitability of market economies for planning.

Let us start from some basic conceptual foundation stones such as relationships between society and education, definitions and hierarchy of educational goals, policies, planning, administration.+ There is, after all, nothing more practical than a good theory. The roots of the invalidation of planning are much deeper than is commonly realized. It originates in the "equilibrium concept" of social development. This school of thought, known as evolutionist, tends to explain social change in general and educational development in particular as an organic progression as quantitative growth in line with social and cultural progress. Education must be in a certain

+ See Educational Policy and Planning Reports and Studies S.34 : A. Deleon and B. Kluchnikov "Educational reforms; a synthesis of major problems and operational objectives."

equilibrium with its environment, it must reproduce existing social relations. Development in education is nothing more than a smooth endogenous cumulative change. Change in education cannot be artificially introduced. Similar to Rostow's stages of growth, evolutionists argue that there are certain stages of growth through which all school systems must pass, it cannot leapfrog a stage or a major portion of a stage. The point is further developed by so-called educational antropologists. According to them the laws of natural history discovered by Darwin are extending on social life, including education. Naturally they are bitterly sceptical with regard to educational innovations which nowadays are taking place in the developing countries. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the policy of democratization and modernization of education is for them premature and rootless, exogenous and therefore dommed to failure.

The evolutionists recognize planning at the best as a tool for orderly reproduction of existing educational systems on a larger base and as a tool for smooth adjustments of the most obvious imbalances. The concept is particularly popular in societies which tend to preserve and reproduce a social status quo. In these societies educational planning is put in a rather fatalistic framework and is of marginal use: linear expansion and occasionally incremental adjustments.

Naturally in this type of society, to aim educational planning, in line with educational policy or in its deviation at systematic innovations, not to say at profound major reforms of education, as a rule result in complete failure. Many plans were a failure simply because they were unrealistic. They were unrealistic just because too often they faifthfully followed unrealistic or demagogic educational policies. This is recognized by many conferences. Educational planning should not be preconceived but instead reflect the aspirations of the population as well as national and local realities.

In opposition to the view that education is in a "moving equilibrium" is the concept of conflict or basic contradiction between societies and education which emphasizes the inherent instabilities of the social system, and conflicting relationship among its sub-systems. Among the supporters of the "conflict theory" there are two conflicting views on education. According to one, education by its very nature is a major tool for eroding and destroying outdated traditional structures. Another contends that education, or more precisely, school is by its very nature a conservative institution. This concept serves as a foundation stone for societies undertaking major and comprehensive socio-economic transformations. Educational planning normally should be a management tool for achieving policies and goals which are often aimed at a major educational reform. The above observations lead to distinguish various approaches to educational planning: e.g. one for planning status quo, another for smooth incremental adjustments and yet another one for major educational change following radical socio-economic transformations taking place in a given society. The content, methodology and technique of educational planning should in each of these cases vary. But in all cases planning is a management process, a variable dependent on educational policy. It is true that often this variable is difficult to separate from policy, probably more difficult than to separate policy from administration. It is however important to underline in our polemics the determining role of educational policies.

Widespread misunderstandings concerning functions and relationships between educational policy and planning are, as mentioned earlier, one of the major reasons for criticisms of planning. Educational policy, like policy in general, reflects a country's options and ideally its cultural traditions, values and conceptions of the future. It must be a unified structure of specific objectives, deduced from over-all societal goals. It is educational policy which should ensure that educational objectives comply with the objectives of society. Educational planning being a fundamental component of the

modern management educational process should necessarily reflect educational policy. It transcribes policy goals into scientifically justified targets and foresees alternative ways and means for their implementation for short, medium and long-term educational development.

Weaknesses or neglect of educational administration is another major reason why the best plans and reforms sometimes remain a dead letter or quietly degenerate. The dissillusionment with educational planning which these days is so much propagated, seems to be a result of misinterpretations of its rationale and possibilities. From the beginning there were too high hopes and expectations. The International Conference on Educational Planning has specifically warned that educational planning is not a miracle drug to cure all its ills of ailing educational systems. It is not a standardized formula to be imposed in all situations.

Main features of recent educational development plans.

The Division of Educational Policy and Planning requested the Member States in June 1978 to reply to the questionnaire concerning the state of development of educational planning. Simultaneously we requested our colleagues in the Member States to inform us about most important educational policy acts and reforms as well as about changes in the educational administration and educational facilities patterns. Since that time the collection of educational plans and educational reform laws is regularly up-dated and analyzed. In this way we managed to receive some 95 educational plans from various Member States, some of them in the form of educational chapters of overall socio-economic development plans. The collected educational plans do not lend themselves easily for synthetization and for making firm conclusions about the prevailing concepts, contents, scope and methodologies of planning. However, it appears possible to make a few conclusions. It would be safe to say that almost all educational plans are oriented towards the following goals:

- democratization of education as an integral part of the policy of social equality;
- development of human resources, in particular qualified manpower;
- educational contribution to the cultural identity and endogenous development of education;
- contribution of education to the establishment of the NIEO which in some countries is presented as a goal of internationalization of education or in the spirit of inter-dependence;
- educational contribution to the improvement of the quality of life.

It is noted that the notion of democratization of education varies considerably from country to country. For the developing countries democratization of education often is reduced to universal primary education or even first years of primary education. In more developed countries the democratization of education aims at overall compulsory secondary education until the age 17/18. Moreover in these countries the accent is put on the quality of educational chances of success. The educational plans of the developing countries clearly evidence that financial constraints continue to be a major obstacle for educational development. Some of the educational plans began recently to emphasize the role of non-formal education as a way of mobilizing educational resources for education. It is noted, however, that there is a certain confusion in the understanding of the modalities of non-formal education. It appears that statistics on non-formal education is missing in many countries

As to the educational contribution to authentic cultural development this is considered as a priority goal, for example the educational plans of Arab countries aim at the promotion of the Islamic civilization. The goal of cultural authenticity is aimed at by almost all African development plans compared to some others which aim at modernization of the society. The same proportion would be collected for the Latin American and Arab regions.

Asian educational plans are equally emphasizing cultural authenticity and modernization goals. Another noticeable trend of the recent generation of educational plans is an increasing emphasis on the role of education in the development of national unity, of national reconstruction and/or of national building etc. It is noteworthy that the role of foreign assistance is nowadays diminishing and self-reliance is strongly emphasized. Another new trend in educational planning is an emphasis on environmental and ethical education as well as on population education. As to the methodologies of planning it should be noted that they become more concrete, financially justified and technically more solidly based. For example, the introduction of compulsory universal primary education is not presented any more merely as a slogan. The governments realise the difficulties of achieving this target and take it as a long term objective, the achievement of which requires classes, teachers, teaching materials etc.., Educational plans become more consistent and comprehensive. New plans specifically deal with the educational development of rural areas but only few of them with the special conditions in urban slums.

New tasks of educational planning.

Careful analyses of confronting points of view on educational planning lead the majority of competent people to conclude that there are no sufficiently strong arguments to discard educational planning. We have referred already to the statements of representative regional conferences. The introduction in the 1950's and 1960's of educational planning in the majority of the countries of the world, was a major prerequisite for establishing national systems of education and for their unprecedented growth. The need for modern methods of management is of universal nature. There are no meaningful alternatives to educational planning. Its usefulness is particularly obvious in times

when the coherence of educational systems, the coordination of multiplying educational activities, and the mobilization of all potential learning resources in the framework of life-long education, is a most pertinent item of the agenda of so many countries. Wide and wise use of computers considerably increases the capacity of educational planning.

As a matter of fact this attitude is reflected in Unesco's preoccupation with improvement of educational planning which is one of its major objectives. Educational planning as it exists now in many countries is indeed in a stage of infancy or adolescence. Without pretending to elaborate new tasks of educational planning, I will concentrate on a few fundamental aspects.

The new tasks are directly dependent on the emerging concept of development which recognizes a multiplicity of factors, puts emphasis on social structures, on cultural values and ethical norms. It takes into account disintegration of the economies in the developing countries, the predominance of the traditional sector, rapid urbanization, etc. In negative terms, it is a revolt against cultural assimilation, against imported and artificially implanted cultures and educational institutions. The positive terms which the new concept emphasizes are the endogenous character of development, cultural authenticity, self-reliance and sovereignty of nation-states in their educational policies. It is gathering momentum. Unesco's programme clearly states: "As educational policies evolve, the notion of educational planning must also adapt itself to new situations." The most promising trend is a gradual improvement of educational planning, its receptivity and adjustment to changing needs.

I have before me several dozens of educational plans, in some cases the entire series of national development plans. Educational plans are often part of development plans. Analyzing them, one comes to the conclusion that on the whole the plans are becoming less uniform in

subject, content, methods and techniques. They tend to take better care of alternative strategies for achieving planned targets ? This in turn leads to considerable diversification of orientations, priorities, ways and means, in institutional structures, etc. An international comparative method is becoming of minor influence. Close ties with national and local realities and self-reliance are considered as preconditions for successful planning.

The majority of the countries continue their efforts to improve educational planning and make it more relevant to prevailing social, economic and cultural developments. The environment within which educational planning takes place has necessarily pervasive effects upon its acceptability, concept, objectives, scope, methodologies and techniques, as well as upon its effectiveness. In socialist countries educational planning is an integral part of overall socio-economic planning. Regional and local educational authorities, teachers, their unions, students and parents, participate increasingly in the formulation and implementation of educational plans. Further emphasis was recently placed on the evaluation of educational plans. When adopted, educational plans are considered in these countries as the obligatory programme of action subject to rolling adjustments. In countries with market economies the planning capacity is clearly different. In the 1970's the necessity for social planning, including planning of education has been widely recognized and considerable success achieved. It is thought that social affairs are more easily planned than market economies.

Reflecting educational policies, the recent educational plans and programmes tend to take into account and reconcile many more objectives than previously: manpower, cultural, social, ethical and organizational considerations. In spite of certain setbacks and criticisms in a number of countries, educational planning is nowadays almost accepted everywhere as an indispensable element of modern management. Minimal educational

planning is gaining ground as a process of concertation and consensus building although educational plans normally reflect the political choices of those in power. Educational planning is becoming a multi-disciplinary discipline. It is less rigid, more participatory, involving students, parents, teachers etc. In some countries educational plans have greatly contributed to innovations and to the implementation of educational reforms. Computer techniques provide new opportunities for formulation and periodical adjustments of educational plans. The scope of educational planning is broadening, its methodologies and techniques are becoming more sophisticated and closely linked to overall planning. Educational planning, accepted as a political administrative function, has become more mature and better adapted to the realities within which it operates. As Kjell Eide from Norway puts it "while planning practitioners have come to master their tasks better, planning theorists may finally have recognized some of the experiences gained from practice."[13] As Ph. Coombs (USA) rightly stressed some years ago, educational planning moves downward and outward. Horizontally it becomes part and parcel of integrated over all socio-economic development planning. Educational planners are often members of mixed planning teams. They tend to think of education as a subsystem and the scope of educational planning goes beyond purely educational matters. The branching of educational planning is another major development. In higher and technical education, teacher training and literacy work, special planning methods and techniques are applied.

In many cases educational planning suffers from such weaknesses as inadequate political commitment, isolation from overall social and economic plans, from attempts to reduce it to the output of skilled manpower and

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[13] Kjell Eide. Reappraisal of educational planning. Paper written for OECD 20.11.79, Oslo.

and the over-rigid character of plans, from exclusive concentration on formal schooling or even on higher education as well as from neglect of local, institutional planning and project design etc.

The most delicate and controversial aspect of educational planning is probably the coordination of training and employment. The general tendency no longer consists of adapting education to manpower needs but of defininining simultaneously the objective of the economy and those of education. There are great difficulties in defining with reasonable exactness the number and, especially, the profile (hence the training programmes) of the specialists needed in the next 5 years or more. The difficulty is made even greater by the concern to harmonize the social demand for education with the needs of the economy. Under these circumstances, the democratization policy which tends to prolong the period of general education appears, in many countries, to be the most realistic one from an economic point of view.

In the light of new social and economic developments educational planning is facing new challenges. The broadened concept of education and the outstanding task of mobilizing all learning resources, is probably the major task of educational planning. Until recent years educational planners were mostly concerned with the formal system. Non-formal educational activities were not supposed to be planned just because they were non-formal. This attitude is gradually changing. It is thought nowadays that the laissez-faire approaches to non-formal education are not appropriate, particularly in view of the recognition of enormous potentials of non-formal educational activities. It is of crucial importance in rural areas - which is the dominant sector of developing countries. The task of educational planners in the non-formal field is to carefully promote and organize local initiatives and endogenous

efforts, the danger being to over-organize and over-plan. The recent educational plans single out specific programmes of educational development for rural areas and for informal urban sectors, often in conjunction with community development schemes. Some of the developing countries have demonstrated success in the planning of various extension programmes; family planning, nutrition and sanitation courses, apprenticeship schemes, various programmes of child care, home economics training of medical specialists etc. (Tanzania, Sri Lanka, Colombia, Indonesia). In fact many educational plans, particularly in the developing countries are realistic enough to recognize a prevailing multiplicity of educational patterns. They attempt to embrace - in a systematic fashion - all educational activities, formal, non-formal, informal, with a view to establishing national educational systems.

Reflecting new educational policies, the recent generation of plans are multidimensional to the extent that, while continuing to pay attention to quantitative and qualitative aspects, to costs and some economic and social considerations, they tend to take into account much more than previously, ethical, cultural and organizational aspects of education with due regard to national traditions. The best of them seem to be less rigid, they emphasize alternative strategies, the need for rolling adjustments in response to change.

Participation in educational planning.

Vertically, the plans attempt to include all organic components: national, regional, local, institutional as well as the preparation of programmes and projects. The prospects for decentralization and democratization of procedures through participation are particularly bright in the field of educational planning. Participatory planning appears to many practitioners as a most promising new orientation.

The ministers of education of Latin American and Carribean countries who meet in December 1979 in Mexico at a Unesco organized Conference recommended inter alia "that the Member States strengthen and improve the system and process of the overall planning of education and that they initiate or intensify the deconcentration and regionalization process with regard to educational plannig and administration in the spirit of participation involving the different sectors and groups.[14)]

Participation in all stages of educational planning of teachers and their unions and communities, students and parents, is the best way to mobilize local initiatives and channel them on a regular achievement of planned targets.

It is probably necessary to call attention to participatory planning and to participation in educational planning in particular. It is not just one additional new feature of planning. It is an entirely new approach and new concept of planning which may result in profound changes in educational planning. Planning is inseparable from policy. It is an instrument in the power game. In many countries it ensures control at the top of the organizational hierarchy over the rest of the organization. Participatory planning may be seen as an attempt to shift the control over planning to other groups, to distribute planning functions among many other participants of education or other social and economic services. "Management by objectives", "programme budgeting","micro planning etc. are also aiming at the democratization of decision making and thus at the mobilization of local initiative or of the initiative of masses of working people. No doubt it is a very noble objective.

A word of caution is however needed. There is a danger that participatory planning and a certain degree of decentralization of decision-making may undermine the substance of planning and result in chaos, unless a certain degree of consistancy and coordination is ensured by a central body. In addition those participating in planning should act with responsibility and competence.

Participatory planning may mean a birth <u>of fundamentally new</u> planning based on <u>new methods and techniques.</u>

(14) Minedlac Conference, Mexico City, 4-13 December 1979.

The task is not to invent a "general theory of planning" but carefully collect planning experiences analyze them and draw conclusions.

Along with re-emphasizing the control function of planning there is a tendency towards broadening the information basis and analyzing the consequences of alternative policies. As a result, planning increasingly draws upon research findings; therefore, interaction between educational planning and research becomes of fundamental importance. This is a vast subject. However, some remarks might be useful. Indeed one of the functions of planning is to serve as a laboratory of new ideas. It cannot otherwise provide for scientifically justified decisions.

Therefore the central danger for educational planning nowadays seems to be a dichotomy between research and planning. This separation of education research from planning too often leads to the inapplicability of its findings to practical problems. Research is of particular importance for reforming educational systems. Nowadays planning and administration of educational reforms are often considered as a special branch of educational planning.

Finally, one of the major new challenges to educational planning is the formulation of long-term educational development plans. As education is a phenomenon with a very slow incubation period, it is evident that short-term educational planning should be done in the light of long-term forecasting. That is why, in the course of recent years, many countries have prepared detailed studies on education in the socio-economic context of the end of the XXth century (e.g. India's prospective plan, U-90 in Denmark, De Komende 25 jaar in Netherlands, as well as the 15-year development in the USSR).

Through the strategic use of instruments of economic and social policy, the long-term educational development plans attempt to attain explicit quantitative and qualitative objectives of education for the 1980s and over.

Reviewing the arguments for and against planning, we have carefully analyzed experiences of countries with relatively rich planning traditions. The Prime- Minister of India, Ghandhi, introducing the "Fifth Five Year Plan 1974-1979" said: "Sometimes it is said that there is no longer the same enthousiasm about planning as in the fifties. An irrigation dam or powerhouse is more exciting while it is being built than when it is completed and operating. Planning has become an inseparable part of our life. My father often said that planning is the application of science to national problems".(15)

The profound changes occurring in society and in educational systems, and the new circumstances for the financing of education arising out of the reduction of resources, were contributing both to increasing the importance of educational planning in forthcoming decades and to modifying its basis. It emerged more and more clearly that planning methods should be made still more relevant so as to make of them an effective instrument for the systematic application of education policies, especially if funds were to become relatively scarcer. This could make it vital to secure the best possible utilization of available means, mobilize new resources and establish strict priorities. Although not easy, it was vital to secure harmonization with employment policies, and to secure the participation of young people, the principal victims of unemployment in many countries, and their parents in the planning and management of the education system. Many specialists are of the opinion that planning is the discipline of the future. I share this prediction. Much of course should be done, particularly in the field of relatively underveloped long-term educational planning. Its development will go hand-in-hand with socio-economic planning. The latter will in future mostly be preoccupied not only and not so much with the exploitation of nature, but with its regulation and preservation. The relation of man to nature is becoming the central issue of planning in general and of <u>educational policies</u> and planning in particular.

(15) Fifth Five-Year Plan, 1974-79 Government of India Planning Commission, p. vi.

Reflections on the concept and practice of educational reforms:

Educational planning and reforms are two vast but closely interrelated subject. The interrelationship between educational planning, on the one hand, and reforms and innovations on the other, deserves a special analysis. In addition to a number of thoughtful articles, published in "Prospects", it is probably worthwhile appraising the theory and practice of educational reforms giving special reference to national educational policy statements, reform laws and to the materials of regional conferences of ministers of education organized by Unesco in the last decade.

Definitions and categorization attempts.

The history of education is evidencing inumerable attempts to alter educational systems. Education got a reputation of being very resistant to change. The efforts to change education range from some rather minor innovations, for instance in class-room teaching, to major, large-scale and comprehensive changes in educational goals, structures and priorities.

It is widely recognized that the notion of educational reform is fairly confused. It is vague, without any precise reference, and is often confused with educational change, educational innovations, educational policy, and educational planning.

Distinguishing features of educational reform are: it is an induced change to a certain form (therefore re form) or to a certain institution; it is fairly comprehensive in comparison with isolated technical innovations; it involves national normative and broad structural change and as such it is a political process with noticeable ideological overtones; it is a part of social change. A possible definition might read: educational reform is an integral part of the social transformation and comprises major changes in educational policies and it involves major changes in a national educational goal, normatives and institutions. As can be

seen, this definition leaves out the continual evolutionary process of adaptation, incremental improvements and modernization. Neither does it cover so-called partial educational reforms. Under partial reforms is understood systematic and fairly comprehensive innovations within the existing educational system, such as pedagogical reforms, curricula reforms, adjustments in the educational structure, reforms of different levels and types of education, the introduction of new technologies, new educational media, etc. It is therefore probably correct to suggest that one should distinguish at least two categories of educational reforms: major and partial. There is another possibility for categorization of educational reforms:

a) reforming in relatively stagnant societies with a view to preserving the status quo;

b) reforming education with a view to facilitating and consolidating social and economic transformations taking place in that society;

Two recent illustrations of major education reforms are Tanzania and Cuba. Both have been characterized by new goals, priorities and changes in structures, coupled with an attempt to incorporate and coordinate all learning resources and various forms of on-the-job training. The experiences of the past demonstrate various origins of educational reforms: changes coming from central level and from below. Of particular interest are reforms coming from the masses. There are cases where they are initiated by teachers' unions. If sucessful, they set up a chain of spontaneous reactions in other regions and communities.

The next point for reflection is: what is the relationship between educational policies and educational reforms? Is educational reform not a quintessence of educational policies? Educational planning and administration are two tools for managing an educational reform. For

reform purposes they should be of a special nature. Again, yet another point for reflection: what is the place and role of reforms in educational development? Educational enterprise, by its very nature, should be one of the most dynamic human activities. In practice it often demonstrates a profound conservatism and resistance to change. Is educational reform in fact the most appropriate means of ensuring renewal of the educational enterprise? There are probably other ways and means than reform of ensuring attainment of the same goals, and if so, which? In this context what is the rational and relative value of reforms compared with evolutionary ways and means of educational renewal. Is it correct to state that many national authorities are giving preference to educational reforms as compared with normal evaluation and fragmented innovations in educational systems, that reforms constitute the central core of educational policies and plans? Indeed why does educational development in the world, particularly during the last 2-3 decades, demonstrate so many attempts, often desperate, at reforming education? Why do innovations and reforms constitute an essential part of educational plans? Why do governments tend to consider the reforms as the most appropriate means of ensuring modernization and innovations?

The experience of many societies reveals the inadequacy of routine evolutionary or sporadic and fragmental educational innovations. It is often said that evolutionary changes are taking time and we cannot wait. The Director-General of Unesco, introducing to the Lagos conferance the item of the agenda "Innovations and planning of reforms in Africa" underlines that "it should always be remembered that innovation if not an end in itself is to be seen in the context of a coherent reform".[16] The above consideration on the relative value of reforms

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(16) Lagos Conference, p. 61.

is leading to a careful appraisal of their preconditions and rationals. In other words, under which circumstances and in which environment has major reform proved to be the adequate vehicle of educational change?

This issue has considerable practical implications. Some experts tend to consider educational reform as a manifestation of social conflict and contradictions. The other school of thought considers, on the contrary, that education is normally in equilibrium and harmony with socio-economic and cultural environment and all education needs is periodical adjustments. They look at reform as a smooth cumulative change.

Whatever the differences of opinion may be, a certain predisposition to educational reforms seems to be generally recognized. Therefore at least three major social scenarios should be considered: a) relative social equilibrium; b) moderate reforms; c) radical change. For illustration purposes the various situations may be represented by the following matrices.

Predisposition to to Educational Change	Predisposition to social change		
	Status quo and cumulative change	Moderate reforms	Radical social change
Maintenance and incremental adjustments	1.1	1.2	1.3
Moving equilibrium achieved through educational innovations and partial reforms	2.1	2.2	2.3
Radical change in educational objectives and policies	3.1	3.2	3.3

This graphical presentation of the relationship between social and educational changes is certainly a simplification. More particularly because it is frozen in time. However, it may give a key to understanding why some reforms are crowned with success (matrix 2.2 and 3.3) others just paliatives (matrix 1.3 and 2.3) and yet others are a complete failure (matrix 3.1 or 3.2).

The Delegation of Sri Lanka, for instance, at the Colombo Conference, when discussing the major educational problems, singled out especially "situations arising from the implementation of reforms without considering the capacity of the system to absorb such change".[17] This appears to be the fundamental and often repeated policy error in conducting educational reforms.

Educational philosophies and concepts as foundations of educational reforms.

There are signs that for many countries the times of quiet educational growth and of moving equilibrium are over. Parallel to the profound social transformations, changes are taking place in educational concepts and educational policies and goals. At the regional conferences of Unesco and other representative forums, it is often repeated that there is no task more important than rethinking of education. What remains common for practically all major educational concepts is the view of education as the major bridge between material culture (means of production) and spiritual culture. Its functions seems to harmonize both of them and to narrow the gap between two structures.

There are several easily identifiable educational philosophies. Of course in practices of educational policy and planning they are not mutually exclusive but rather interpenetrating. However, we may clearly distinguish various emphasis.

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(17) Final Report of Colombo Conference, page 33.

For the time being, probably the most influencial one may be termed in essence as positivist, pragmatic and rationalistic. It is a branch of the evolutionist theory, and aims at a socialization of young generations into existing social structures, at increasing economic efficiency, at "human capital" development, as well as at preparing for life in consumer societies; at the same time it draws attention to some basic needs of socially disadvantaged population groups. It implies that educational reforms and innovations should take place within the existing social context and be mostly incremental, technical innovations, without bothering too much about cultural conflicts, social tensions or moral, ethical norms.

Another philosophy of education has strong personalistic overtones and as such emphasizes such goals as the importance of learning for understanding human existence, of the relation between man and nature, of the ethics of progress. It raises the issue of the respective role of science and ethics in educational development. However, intellectual excellence and spiritual perfection remains its central goal. It is alarmist with regard to the degradation and devalorization of the human personality; it warns against the misuse of mass media for conditioning the human mind, against the increasing danger of standardization of human beings and the dehumanizing effect of science and technology.

Of considerable importance for further development of this concept was the Colombo conference which, in a number of its recommendations (Nos 2, 3, 19) persistently stressed "the significance of the necessary balance between materialistic progress and moral ethical and cultural attainment". The Conference "invited Member States to undertake a study on the moral, ethical and cultural needs of their countries". By the same recommendation Unesco is invited "to undertake an in-depth study on the linkage between moral, ethical and cultural values and educational development."[18] It is worthwhile noting that the plea for an ethical

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(18) Colombo Conference, 1978, page 62.

approach to education and to development in general comes from Asia, where the bulk of the poverty stricken population of the world is concentrated. Many delegations referring to poverty, hunger and malnutrition insisted on "the inevitable preponderance of economic considerations in orienting educational reforms."[19] Yet another philosophy emphasizes the social responsibility of education, recognizes its fundamental role in fashioning a spirit of community and of a better world, a better working environment and higher skills. As Mr. Ghandi taught, educating the brain by the hand. It promotes the idea of moderate consumption, of self-restraint and of selfless service in the community for correcting natural inequalities. Among the major functions of education, it sees the promotion of nation unity or nation-building and cultural authenticity. It clearly distinguishes the growing danger of total destruction and disappearance of cultural values, accumulated by past generations. Cultural revitalization is one of the common features of ongoing educational reforms. This dynamic philosophy is gathering momentum in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Lagos Declaration, adopted by the African Ministers of Education in 1976, states: "Education should be national and democratic, authentic and modern". The Colombo Conference also referred to "education serving as a means of strengthening national unity and identity, through the inculcation of moral, ethical and cultural values in the people."[20]

The social responsibility concept is an antipod to selfishness, egoism and elitism. It attempts to counteract the growing wave of nihilism.

Of course, these philosophies do not cover the rich diversity of educational goals. There is for instance a frightening educational doctrine which promotes the principle that basic human needs

(19) Colombo Conference 1968, p.62.

(20) Colombo, Conference 1968, p.48.

and human drives can and should be changed by educational means. It implies nightmarish prospects of reconditioning the human mind. It favours social engineering. The famous novel "Brave New World" by Aldous Huxley, published in 1932, was as a matter of reality an early warning against this doctrine and actual trends in educational development.

Reforms as a reaction to the danger signals in educational development.

When analyzing national educational policy documents and reform laws, we note that they typically aim at democratization of education for an egalitarian society, at its scientific character for the age of scientific and technological progress, as well as at cultural authenticity. They tend to promote national self-reliance and international understanding for this interdependent world. As can be seen, these broad educational goals are not necessarily mutually reinforcing. Often they appear or tend to become contradictory. However this is a subject of philosophical nature and needs special reflection. Here we concentrate on the most typical disfunctions of education.

The most common diagnosis of the ills of educational systems relates to such practices as elitism; social, occupational, cultural, irrelevancy, multiplicity of educational systems, consumerism, conservatism of the educational establishments. Educational reforms of our time are usually aimed at overcoming these evils. Elitism is the antithesis to a policy of democratization of education; it is connected with the selection function of education. This function is often hidden. It effectively prevents schooling from serving as a vehicle of social mobility. Privileged schools thus sort people out and contribute in this way to preserve the social privileges. In the developing countries elitism is closely related to the uncritical transfer of foreign educational patterns and thus reinforces the cultural dichotomy between the modernists and traditionalists, between the elite and the mass of the people.

Policies of democratization of education seek to give real equal opportunities to the socially disadvantaged groups. This explains the preoccupation of the educational conferences organized by Unesco, with numerous issues of democratization of education. Practically all regional conferences, organized by Unesco in the last two decades, devoted a considerable and growing attention to this central issue of educational policy and planning. The emphasis reflects the growing preoccupation of nation/states with democratization of education. The majority of the educational reforms were inspired by this goal. Too often it happens that the social elite prefers to keep the best schools for their children, often without taking care of the more difficult task of improving the entire system. The eminent Indian educator, J.P. Naik, says: "We did not try to introduce radical social changes in society, without which radical changes in education are not possible... Therefore many basic objectives of socialist societies remained unrealised". In many other countries a few good schools for the elite coexist with a vast majority of sub-standard institutions. The proclaimed educational reforms often fail because they are rejected by the social elite on the ground that it leads to "deterioration of standards".

Examples are particularly abundant in Latin American countries. It is here that the policy of reforming education in an inappropriate social context, manifested particularly eloquently its bankruptcy. The majority of students in the universities are graduates of the privileged, private secondary schools. Universities continue to reflect faithfully the social structure of societies instead of shaping them. In this context the role and place of private education is often overlooked. It calls for a special study - particularly in the light of two major opposing trends in education: democratization and elitism.

Educational reforms particularly in developing countries often seek to satisfy a multiplicity of controversial objectives: of academic excellence of the best European standards as well as specific cultural and employment needs of their own societies. The inconsistency of educational objectives is in fact giving birth to and reinforcing parallel development of several educational systems, for instance for the urban elite, for villagers, for the urban proletariat, etc. This phenomenon is known as multiplicity or disintegration of educational systems. "There are imbalances between rural and urban areas in the quality and availability of education", [21] the Colombo Conference stated. There is a typical sickness of educational systems, often too narrowly defined as dualism. Educational activities are entrusted to various ministries, enterprises, communes, private societies etc.; this results in a multiple allocation of responsibilities, in differing educational goals for differing socio-economic classes. In the light of the above, there is a danger that most recent emphasis on the reforming of education for rural areas may result in a further reinforcement of the multiplicity of educational systems. Irrelevancy is considered commonly through practically all reform laws as a major deficiency. "Children leave school without functional skills; they need to cope with their lives in a productive way" . Concern with linking education to work was reflected in a large number of educational reforms. It was recognized by the Colombo conference, for instance, that "if education is to be made functional education and work processes will have to be interlinked

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(21) Colombo, Conference, p.63.

more effectively than in the past". Delegations of many countries systematically share their experience with regard to curriculum reform. There is a tendency in some current reforms to introduce polyvalent curricula which include elements of vocational and agricultural experience", prior to any specialization. At the same time the conferences resolutely denied accusations that education is primarily responsible for unemployment and that it should be made responsible for preventing it. The roots of unemployment are much deeper and very diversified. On the other hand, education may together with other measures, contribute to fuller employment. Some of the ongoing reforms do in fact indicate the future course of educational development, namely interlinking education and work, education for self-employment, emphasis on village polytechnics as the antithesis to academic schooling. Happily we can refer to concrete national educational reforms or pilot projects which exemplify the most needed types of educational change in response to the employment requirement. It is education of farmers, introduction of new technologies, village polytechnics, vocational training, extension training etc.

It is known that Unesco proclaims life-long education and learning society as the master-contept of educational development. It is interesting to explore to what extent educational reforms taking place in the 60's and 70's promoted the concept of life-long education. Here again we have a danger signal. It seems that the tremendous potentials of non-formal education have on the whole been given less attention than they deserve. This seems to be particularly correct for the rural areas. For instance it was recognized at the Colombo Conference that "the search for new and non-formal modes of education stems from a wide

spread concern that education must be made more fundamental to the lives and aspirations of the broad masses of the people, particularly in the rural areas". [22] It would hardly be an exaggeration to state that the ministers of education who in the last decade took part in the regional and international conferences, stressed that reforming education for relevance will be the major concern for future educational policies and plans. [23]

Nowadays it is widely recognized that educational reforms, properly planned and supported, have a considerable potential in fostering such human qualities as initiative, enterprise and imagination. They in turn are essential to successful self-employment as well as job creation for others. In other words the dynamic capacity of education to provide skills and to expand and transform economic structures is widely taken into account.

Cultural authenticity and endogeneity of educational development is another typical preoccupation of the reformers of education, particularly in the developing countries. As a matter of fact it eivdences a clear recognition of broad societal functions of education, especially of nation building and safeguarding of national sovereignty. The necessity to cleverly balance foreign experience with its own cultural heritage is considered as an aspect of intellectual liberation. Promotion of cultural and educational authenticity clearly may result in excessive idealization of one's own cultural traditions, if not in xenophobia. The same applies to education.

One of the major problems is how to protect the endogenous character of educational development simultaneously with its modernization? Is it altogether possible for a developing country, to take an extreme case,

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(22) Colombo Conference, p. 16.

(23) Colombo Conference, p. 34.

which is precariously situated between near-tribalism on the one hand, and an extra-modern economy, for instance represented by trans-national corporations, on the other, to have a unified and modern national educational system which will be relevant to all classes of society? In other words, is multiplicity of educational systems in economically and socially disintegrated societies inescapable? Can modern educational systems be introduced in traditional societies without becoming utterly irrelevant? Will it not result in erosion of rural community, which is a natural guardian of the cultural authenticity? And finally, can cultural authenticity and identity be ensured by an ideology more potent than nationalism? The Declarations of Lagos (1976), of Abu Dhabi (1977) and Colombo (1978) are all basically optimistic. While recognizing difficulties and obstacles, they also recognize the imperative of "the deconolization and nationalization of education and its new mission in an often revolutionary environment. The Lagos Declaration, for instance, calls for "awakening in the young people of a critical awareness of the status of their people and developing in each individual the values of work, progress and of their civilization". 24)

Some lessons of educational reforms.

There are in fact too few cases to justify general conclusions. If a rule can be made, it is probably that successful reforms require a predisposition of the society as well as an original design and original solutions. Nevertheless below is an attempt to generalize several lessons with regard to guiding principles, and ways and means of designing, implementing and evaluating educational reforms.

One may most properly begin with an old quotation: "There is nothing more difficult to carry out nor more doubtful of success nor

(24) Lagos Conference, p. 24.

more dangerous to handle than to initiate a new order of things. For the reformer has enemies in all who profit by the old order, and only luke-warm defenders in all those who profit by the new order."[25]

Needless to say that educational reforms and plans have no chance for success if they are violent, voluntaristic attempts to disrupt the existing order of things. In other words, if they represent the matrices 1.3 or 3.1. Meaningful educational reform towards a more equitable educational outcome is for instance an unrealistic goal in the context of the structural socio-economic inequity; in other words, if it is at odds with the dominant socio-economic structure. The greater realism with regard to the relationship between education and economic development, of which Mr. Weiler emphasizes the necessity, leads to a recognition that education is a dependent variable, but not only and often not so much of economies, as of social and cultural environment. On the other hand education is a very powerful and active force: more equitable access to education should contribute to a more equitable society. Reforming rural schools for example, may be a failure if not accompanied by land reform. On the other hand land reforms not supported by the introduction of new technology and education designed to improve but sustain old patterns of living in self-sufficient communities, prove to be also a failure. This may explain why attempts to establish modern technical education in many developing countries are often not successful. However, many reformers contend that too broad an interpretation of the above thesis is dangerous because it may be interpreted as a support for the status quo and result in apathy towards educational innovations. According to the experiences of many countries, the political will for educational reform is another major condition for change. It is in itself not sufficient to surmount the resistance. An educational reform is not merely a political process, but is also a comprehensive long-term

(25) Machiavelli, The Prince.

project implementation which requires all the technical instruments of future research, forecasting and programming. All these operations are by definition the phase of a planning process. In a majority of countries where educational reforms have recently taken place, they were undertaken in a planned manner, often as an integral part of broader educational plan. It is therefore highly debatable that, as Mr. Weiler insists, "the conservative tendency on the part of planning and planners in education has been particularly critically noted in situations where there is a strong drive for educational and broader social reform".(26) Recent lessons of reforming education, I am afraid, are in marked contrast with this firm conclusion and hardly justify counterposing of educational planning and reforming, of plans and reforms.

One of the items of the agenda of the Lagos Conference was specifically devoted to discussions and exchange of experiences concerning "innovations and planning of reforms in Africa." Many reformers, evaluating their experiences, draw the following conclusions:

- Planning of an educational reform should begin with establishing an adequate infrastructure.
- Administrative support is a prerequisite of mobilizing learning resources of a community. The most usual constraint if the shortage of financial and trained manpower.
- Reforms should be a constructive, problem-solving process, a set of clear goals supported by adequate resources.

A widespread mistake is the failure to establish clear priorities, to realize that there is probably optimum quantum of change, politically acceptable at a given moment.

- Special attention should be given to information which appears to particularly important in generating initial power for the stagnant bureaucracy. Contrary to the common view of shortage

(26) See M. Weiler's article in Prospects Vol. VIII No. 3,1978, p. 252.

of information, educational reformers and policy makers in general are overloaded with information: most of the time this information is inappropriate. Particularly useful are succesful accounts of educational reforms in other countries. Reformers as well as educational planners in general should provide politicians with political arguments and minimize technocratic ones.

The conclusions and lessons of the past emphasize the importance of planning in undertaking and implementing educational reforms. Some preconditions for successful reform emanate from educational planning. For instance , the success of both educational planning and reforms depends to a great extent on participation "of people at the grass-roots level, which should be involved in decision making". A special commission of the Colombo conference, studying the lessons of reforming education "recognized that the failure of many educational reform initiatives taken in the region had been less due to technical, organizational or financial constraints than to the lack of thorough public consultations prior to as well as in the course of these reforms". 27) It was recommended that the Governments consider an educational reform as a broadly based process of ascertaning and influencing public opinion at all levels of society and several years in advance of introducing the reforms.

Special remarks on the role of teachers and their unions

Another major lesson of reforming education is a full-scale recognition of the role of teachers and their unions. Indeed their crucial role has been demonstrated dramatically in recent years in many countries. Some well though-out educational plans and reforms failed just because they underestimated or ignored completely the teachers and their organization. Teachers' unions should therefore be recognized as powerful partners in the formulation and implementation of educational policy. The Colombo conference stated for instance: "Full participation of the teachers in

(27) Colombo Conference, p. 49.

any reform and renewal is a must, if implementation is to be successful". The practitioners of educational reforms insist that to put a reform into operation, teachers should undergo a continuous process of in-service and further training for the new tasks incumbent on him or her. Teachers, parents and students constitute the crucial network which ensures an active interaction between the community as a whole and education. This is the precondition for giving to an educational reform as well as to planning a broad base of participation and public involvement, without which their goals remain unrealized. In many countries teachers' unions have already established themselves as effective partners of educational development. They play an increasingly important role not only in improving the status of teachers and their working conditions, but also in raising their professional competence and improving the relevancy of curricula, and the structures and methods of teaching and learning. Together with the rest of organized labour, teachers' unions are playing a vital role in coordinating employment and educational policies, particularly educational and manpower plans. The recent emphasis of development plans on various forms of non-formal educational activities and particularly expansion of the workers' education, strengthens further influence of organized labour on educational development. Union leaders must study in depth and understand these new and profound challenges of educational development.

Finally a few words about long-term planning and future educational reforms. While many people are aware of the necessity and urgency of long-range educational policy and planning, little real evidence exists that this is done systematically. Contrary to some opinions [28], hardly a dozen of the countries of the world have elaborated long-term educational development plans. Promotion of long-term educational planning remains one of the important tasks of Unesco . Long-term planning of educational development appears to be indispensable just because education models per-

(28) See previous article of George Psacharopoulos, p. 16.

sonalities for decades, if not during all their lives. Secondly, because of the extraordinary phenomenon of our time : storm of change with waves of ever accelerating speed and unprecendented impact. The feeling of impermanent, of vanishing traditions and past, of the so called situation flow, puts special tasks before education, which too often have demonstrated a dangerous incapacity to prepare people for fruitful roles in the future. To the best of our knowledge not more than two dozen countries of the world have one or another form of long-term educational policy planning, including such countries as the Dominican Republic, Greece, Grenada, India, Israel, Trinidad and Tobago and U.S.S.R. The number of countries which have development plans until the year 2000 appears to be even more limited.

In the previous decades, once a problem was recognized, there was sufficient time to make "reactive planning" and to find solutions. Just because the rate of change was relatively slow! Nowadays, due to the acceleration of the rate of change, educational plans and reforms have to be anticipatory in order to be realistic and of any use. They must attempt at foreseeing probable long-term development trends. The best examples of long-range educational policy and planning do not exclude the possibility of some important changes in the norm stratum - that is in the value systems and goals. They are anticipating profound changes in the ethics of progress, in economic growth prospects due to ecological limitations; probable trends in international exchange, in labour migration, in the relationship between education and employment; between work and leisure time. The explosion of knowledge and the development of informatics, changes in work ethics and in the concepts of education itself are all taken into account.

The importance of long-term plans and reforms of education is nowadays widely recognized not only by researchers but also by educational policy

makers. The recent regional conferences of ministers of education adopted in this regard a number of recommendations. The Arab ministers, who met in November 1977 in Abu Dhabi, decided for instance " to make a study on future profiles of the Arab World in the Year 2000 and to prepare a plan for education in the Arab World in the light of carefully considered future alternative".[29)]

The General Conference of Unesco, at its 20th session in November 1978, approved the project "Reflexions on the future development of education" with a view to preparing a report on long-term prospects for the development of education in the 1980's and 1990's. It will constitute a contribution to the devising of strategies for the New International Economic Order and for the Third Development Decade. It is hoped that this work will assist Governments in their efforts to systematically formulate and adjust long-term educational policies and plans.

(29) Abu-Dhabi Conference, November 1977.

Comments on the Report to the Club of Rome, July 1979 - "No limits to learning"

Conceptual framework.

The point of departure is the thesis that, in contrast to the finite world and to limits of growth, there are no limits to learning. How admirable and optimistic it may sound, the thesis is doubtful in the light of findings of modern psychology. The next step in the conceptual framework is that learning at present is not adequate (p. 10). It should become innovative. "Learning has become a life-and-death matter" (p. 14). "The overall purpose of the report is survival and human dignity" (p. 34). So it is not a report on education, but on learning and the human gap.

What is learning ? "For us, learning means an approach both to knowledge and to life, that emphasises human initiative... Learning is a process of preparing to deal with new situations" (p.8).

Until now the conventional pattern of learning was maintenance learning, which is confined to the acquisition of fixed outlooks, methods, and rules for dealing with known and recurring situations (p.10). "The conventional maintenance/shock learning is inadequate to cope with global complexity" (p.11).

"Maintenance learning is essential but insufficient... On the contrary innovative learning is problem formulating and clustering... A key premise for innovative learning is that proposed solutions are judged prior to their adoption" (pp. 43-44). Anticipation and participation are the main features of innovative learning. Innovative learning in principle differs from "non-anticipatory adoptive learning"(pp. 25-26). "Anticipation economizes the valuable but time-consuming process of undergoing experience. Participation is "a social activity to reconcile differing anticipations as well as to develop the harmony or consensus essential to implementing a chosen course of action... Yet it is in crisis". (p.20)

There is somewhat fatalistic notion that society learns only from its day-to-day experiences..." (p. 25). The concept of societal learning is introduced.

Societal learning through innovative learning should provide mankind the possibility "to create possible and desirable futures", "determine future", "control future events" (pp. 28, 81).

Learning is not confined to education, though education and more particularly schooling, are important parts of the learning process. Education is in crisis; it is predominantly oriented towards maintenance learning (pp. 8 and 63).

Critical appraisal

This conceptual framework hardly stands a critical appraisal. The authors' definition of learning appears to be vague, confusing and tends to simplify the phenomena. The reader may be puzzled to discover that, on the one hand the report defines learning as a process of preparing to deal with new situations (p.8); on the other hand, in the past "maintenance learning... of fixed outlooks was prevailing for dealing with known situations. Maintenance learning is "non-anticipatory, adoptive learning". (pp. 10, 25, 26, 43, 44). This is a contradiction and certainly a simplification which is difficult to justify.

One may wonder that such a simple conceptual framework is at the level present-day development of science. Is it not in contradiction with the findings of biology, psychology, pedagogics and sociology ? Let us open the Encyclopedia Britannica which has the word "learning" (Vol. 10). The reader finds a lengthy introduction to the subject of some 50 pages. Learning appears to be at the crossroad of many natural and social sciences. It is a central issue for many philosophical schools. No theory of learning adequately covers more than a fraction of this phenomena. All living organisms, e.g. adjust or adopt to change

by the stimulation they receive from their environment. They receive and store information and this is in a large measure equivalent to saying that they learn. This is a mode of adjustment to environment that enables the living organisms to survive. These generally accepted characteristics of learning are in contrast to a statement of the report such as : "innovative learning cannot be the mere digestion of an input, resulting in an output"... (p.23). The reputed psychologist G.A. Kimble has given a definition of learning which is considered as more or less satisfactory : "Learning is a relatively permanent change in a behavioural potentially that occurs as a result of reinforced practice" (1961). It is suggested that learning in general is adoptive : it manifests itself by adoptive changes in individual behaviour as a result of experience (See Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 10, p. 731).

In all definitions of learning known to us, the basic features of learning are reflected in such key words as change, adjustment, adoptive, individual practice, experience, environment.

Many contend that learning is confined to improving performance. Depending on the level of development of living organisms, scientists distinguish various types of learning such as classical conditioning, trial and error learning (the report's shock learning), insight learning, imitation, imprinting, perceptual learning ; instrumental conditioning, (Pavlovian reflexes), chaining, acquisition of skill, discrimination learning, concept formulation, principle learning, problem formulation, principle learning, problem formulation and solving, etc.

In the light of the above, one may raise serious doubts as to whether it is justified to distinguish and counterpose maintenance/shock learning and innovative learning ? Do they not constitute a dialectical unity ? Are maintenance and innovation not two unseparable time dimensions of learning ? In other words, learning can be neither for maintenance nor for innovation. Time present and time past are perhaps both present in the future.

Man has the highest ability for learning. He is learning to learn. His learning set includes imagination, constant search for innovations, current and long-term planning, forecasting, prognostication, anticipation of events. For centuries man is making attempts to predict the future. The authors of the report tend to under-estimate the role of practice and of experience in learning. Anticipation which does not take into account relevant experiences becomes a dream. All these considerations point to the conclusion that the basic categories of the report, maintenance learning and innovative learning, are not convincing. They are hardly at the level of modern discoveries of natural sciences. Even more doubtful is the category of societal learning. There are peoples' traditions, there are lessons of history, there is public opinion, etc. One may wonder if learning by definition is not individual.

The report tends to underestimate the role of anticipation in all human activities. Both anticipation and participation, en principe, always were and are present in human activities, even in most fatalistic and authoritarian societies. Rational behaviour, accuracy of action, sanity and common sense, depend on man's ability to anticipate and predict his immediate future. Is it fair then to conclude that nothing has changed with regard to anticipation and participation ? Of course not. The present novelty derives from the vast scale of problems often arising from the fantastic advance in technology. New situations require new concepts, new approaches, broader scope and more sophisticated techniques of prognostication and long-term planning, this time at a planetary level. 'This might explain", write Mesarovic and Pestel in another Club of Rome report, "why political and economic decision-makers have consistently underestimated future change, for they marched too often into the future with their eyes on the past". (p.31). Bringing future to the present is becoming an indispensable element of modern management.

It is difficult to avoid concluding that the artificial and confusing conceptual framework is needless.It would be much more convincing to send the world a simple and noble message : the time has come to focus attention on the human factor and to stop hostilities among men, among nations, as well as the war against nature. The waste of human resources has become critical. Mankind has a rich (though not unlimited) learning capacity which makes it possible to formulate and solve problems. Human activities should be managed at a planetary scale to avoid apocalypsis. Worldwide long-term planning should be initiated as soon as possible. It should be based on local initiative and participation.

Without necessarily falling into neo-Malthusian paradigm it would be advisable to introduce a word of caution with regard to excessive technological optimisms. We should not forget that until now, scientific and technological planning have not been terribly efficient. Political leaders and scientists promised a welfare society, a good life, and gave pollution, smog, unfavourable climatic changes, pesticides, sonic booms, nuclear missiles, neutronic bombs, biological weapons, poison gas, electronic surveillance, mass psychosis, indoctrination and brain-washing. Today they promise... genetic engineering ! Many wonder if technology is not opening the prospects of increasing robotization of working people and the appearance of a computer-ridden dehumanized society.

One cannot agree more with the authors of the report that mankind cannot afford to wait for change to occur spontaneously. "The challenge should be met", say the authors, "by the introduction of innovative societal learning" (p.80). This sounds very impressive. One may raise the question : What is in fact innovative learning ? Is it not the known need for credible comprehensive democratic and long-term planning for anticipatory actions ? Indeed improved planning, including planning for human resources development, should permit national leaders and the world community to enlarge the range

of options, formulate alternatives, test the realizability of plans and find adequate solutions to overriding problems in the global context. A major condition for this is uncontestable guidance of ethical norms. Ethics of progress should guide further development of science and technology. E.g. why is there a Security Council and ECOSOC and not a UN Ethical Council ?

In this context a word of caution should probably be added with regard to the authors' courageous intentions " to create desirable futures", "determine the future", "control future events". As an example they refer to climate regulation : "We are beginning to influence the rain through science and technology" (p.28). Precisely this subject led the Russian meteorologist N. Bochine, to make the sad conclusion that carbon dioxide and dust pollution of human activities are blocking the nothern movement of the monsoons on which more than half a billion of people in South Asia depend for growing their crops. There are strong doubts that these monsoons will return with their previous regularity to India.

Inspite of a doubtful conceptual framework the report contains many interesting ideas, innovative approaches and themes for further research and reflexion. The report strongly emphasises the need to defend peace, to stop the arms race, to promote national cultural identity and diversity as a key for survival and adaptation. They support the establishment of the NIEO in particular through the development of learning potentials. As such the report has reached its major goal : to stimulate a world-wide discussion of the new situation in the world with regard to the human factor and learning capacity. Once more it emphasized that education, and more particularly schooling, are "among the most conservative and rigid institutions in society" (p.65). However, its findings with regard to education are rather conventional and not sufficiently anticipatory.

Follow-up

What seems to be worth further reflexion ? It is probably correct that the world is facing a major change, to which the nearest historic parallel is not the industrial revolution but rather, as G. Thomson, the British physicist and Nobel prize winner suggests "the invention of agriculture in the neolitic age". The past is quickly vanishing. Change is avalanching upon our heads. People and societies, in particular education, are not prepared to cope with the change.

- The urban population of the world, e.g. is doubling every eleven years.
- Technology is the major engine of change; knowledge is its fuel.
- New technology brings drastic changes in the styles of life, in particular in the type of skills and personalities needed for the economy. It is anticipated that two thirds of the actual professions will disappear by the year 2000. Rising rates of occupational turnover make long-term educational policies and planning indispensable.
- Technological breakthrough will continue to change the world of work. But in which direction ? Opinions differ. Some anticipate only a priviledged majority having extremely high and diversified qualifications. For the bulk of the working people the qualifications required will be very simple; the work will be very monotonous and meaningless. Some scientists anticipate the age of robotization. Their opponents contend the opposite : future technologies will require very high qualifications for all. Who is right in this debate ?
- Many educational planners think that educational policies are too much dominated by the labour market requirements and are not sufficiently concerned with the recognized social and individual goals of education.

They contend that in the future the work place itself may be affected more by continuing changes in ethical norms, styles of life, values and consciousness than by technological progress. They anticipate that automation, mechanization, cybernetics and certainly bureaucratization are all adding to the great threat to individuality. They abandon the symptomatic concept of human capital. Education, in their views should recognize the complexity of the human personality. There is a noticeable move from positivism to personalism. The other equally learned scientist makes diametrically opposite conclusions and recommendations. The British educator S.J.Keffe writes: "The origin of educational mismatch lies in the removal of much educational life from market principles".+ There again we find a fundamental issue for in-depth study.

Finally a few words about the report's standpoint regarding schools.

Indeed evidence is mounting that education, and in particular schooling, are dangerously malfunctioning. Once a perfect introduction to the industrial society, schooling is becoming more and more anachronistic in its structure, teaching methods, and content. But the problem is not in "maintenance learning". The introduction of "innovative or anticipatory learning " will hardly solve the problem. Moreover such proposals are not new in pedagogics. Remember, e.g. Dewey's battle for the "here and now approach"; how he was accused by traditionalists of introducing the "cult of immediacy", and of committing "crime of presentism and futurism".

It is easy to suggest placing more emphasis on curricula and anticipation, but difficult to do it. According to psychologists there must be a certain balance between "zones of stability and zones of innovation and rapid change". Psychologists suggest that there is for each individual just the right amount of change which he can absorb. In the light of the theory of adoptive range it becomes clear that to insist on change and

+ S.J. Keffe : Capitalism and correspondence : a critique of Marxist analyses of education. Higher Education Review, Autumn 1979, p. 51.

and "anticipatory learning" are not necessarily "progressive" ideas, and to insist on tradition and "maintenance learning" are necessarily "reactionary" ideas. The solution probably lies in the arrival of a difficult balance in learning past, present and future. To underestimate the past risks producing a non-society in which the lack of common frames of reference would make communication between people even more difficult than it is today. To maintain education and schools as they are now also risks making them anachronistic. To create future education we must generate successive, alternative images of the future society, about the kind of jobs, professions, ethical norms and life styles, etc. It is only by such a debate that we can formulate long-term educational plans. The value of the report "No limits to learning" consists exactly in initiating such debates, and indeed the report is full of interesting but not developed ideas. There is a need for a free and creative way of learning. But there is also need to distinguish between teaching, learning and education. An excellent introduction to this problematics is found in the books of G. Skinner, "Beyond freedom and dignity", 1968, and C. Rogers, "Freedom to learn", 1968. As to participatory discovery learning (compare the report's "innovative learning") we may refer to the work of Duke "Simulation of the language of the future". The report as well as the above-mentioned studies point to the conclusion that Unesco's programme in the future may pay more attention to the problematics of developing learning potentials. By definition it implies an interdisciplinary research project involving leading institutions in the field of pedagogics, education, psychology, biology, sociology etc.